

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MAPUTO 00748 151937Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----081997 151945Z /45

O 151700Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7098
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L MAPUTO 0748

EXDIS

FROM LOW

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: GRAHAM/ LOW MEETING WITH MUGABE AND GPRM

1. GRAHAM AND I MET FOR AN HOUR AND A HALF WITH MUGABE, TONGOGARA AND HIS GROUP AND THEN FOR ABOUT THE SAME AMOUNT OF TIME WITH SERGIO VIEIRA FERRAO, HONWANA AND FOREIGN MINISTRY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT. IN BOTH CASES, THE RESULTS WERE DISCOURAGING. A FULLER MEMCON OF THE MUGABE MEETING WILL BE TRANSMITTED BY THE EMBASSY SEPTEL.

2. TO MUGABE WE EXPLAINED THAT WE THOUGHT THERE WAS SOME CHANCE THAT WE COULD GET THE SALISBURY GROUP TO AGREE TO ATTEND A WORKING LEVEL AND NON PUBLIC
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MEETING TO PREPARE FOR A CONFERENCE. MUGABE REJECTED THIS OUT OF HAND, CALLING IT A REGRESSION FROM THE AGREEMENT IN AR, WHICH WAS FOR A GENERAL CONFERENCE ON CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS. HE CONTINUED TO HIDE BEHIND THE LEGAL FICTION THAT THE PF HAD NOT AGREED TO ENTER DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SALISBURY GROUP. NEGOTIATIONS WERE EXCLUSIVELY WITH THE BRITISH

ANYBODY THE UK WANTED TO BRING ALONG AS PART OF ITS DELEGATION
COULD MAKE THEIR POSITIONS KNOWN TO THE BRITISH. MUGABE CONTENTED
THAT ARRANGMENTS FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD HAD BEEN GREED
TO AT DAR AND WERE NOT A MATTER TO BE DISCUSSED AT A
FULL CONFERENCE. THE FIRST THINK THAT HAD TO BE DONE
WAS GET AGREEMENT ON A CONFERENCE AND SET THE DATE AND
PLACE. AFTER THAT WE COULD SEE ABOUT PREPARATIONS.

3. GRAHAM AND I EXPLAINED THAT THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS
WERE PROCEEDING ALONG THEIR OWN PATH TOWARD AN
ELECTION ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN, OVE VOTE AND INDEPENDENCE.
WE FEARED, HOWEVER, THAT THISMIGHT NOT END THE WAR AND
BELIEVED THAT BOTH OF US HAD AN INTEREST IN BENDING EVERY EFFORT
TO FIND A BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT BEFORE THEN. GRAHAM
SAID THAT WE WOULD BE BOUND TO RECONGINZE THE RESULTS OF AN
ELECTION IF IT WAS A FAIR ONE. WHEN MUGABE SAID THIS IS THE
FORST TIME HE HAD HEARD SUCH A STATEMENT, GRAHAM QUOTED OWEN
AND CALLAGHAN'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS. WE MADE CLEAR THAT THERE
WERE MANY MATTERS AT ISSUE LEFT OVER FROM AT WDAR WHICH HAD NOT
BEEN RESOLVED AND THAT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING WOULD
CERTAINLY HAVE TO CONSIDER MATTERS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD
THE PF STATEMENT AT THE LAST MEETING THAT THE ALL PARTIES
HAD BEEN A UNILATERAL ONE. MUGABE DID NOT SAY HE WOULD REFUSE
TO DISCUSS OTHER MATTERS.

4. IN THE LENGTHY MEETING WITH VIEIRA HE TRIED TO TAKE US
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BACK TO THE PRE DAR DAYS WHEN THE GPRM
INSISTED THAT WE MUST NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT WITH THE
PATRIORIC FRONT WHICH WE WOULD THEM IMPOSE ON SMITH. BASICALLY
HE SAID THE UK, US, PF AND FRONT
LINE ARE ALL ALLIES AGAINST SMITH. THEIR POSITIONS
ARE MUCH CLOSER TOGETHER THAN IS ACKNOWLEDGED AND A
LITTLE MORE DISCUSSION BETWEEN THEM ON SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS
COULD PRODUCE AN AGREEMENT. WE POINTED OUT THAT IN THE FIRST
PLACE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT DID NOT AGREE TO SUCH A PROCEDURE.
NKOMO HAD SPECIFICALLY REJECTED FURTHER NEGOTIATION WITH
US ON REMAINING MATTERS AT ISSUE UNDER THE ANGLO AMERICAN PROPOSAL.
CLAIMING HE DID NOT WANT TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO US
AND THEN HAVE TO TURN AROUND AND MAKE FURTHER
COMPROMISES WITH SMITH. SECONDLY THE SITUATION HAD CHANGED SINCE
THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT HAD BEEN SIGNED SMITH HAD NOW AGREE
TO ONE MAN, ONE VOTE AND A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND HE HAD SOME
SIGNIFICANT AFRICAN SUPPORT ON HIS SIDE. WE COULD NOT APPLY
THE SAME PRESSURES TO SMITH UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES AS WE
COULD HAVE HAD ALL THE AFRICAN PARTIES AGREED AND SMITH
REMAINED ALONE IN OPPOSITION. VIEIRA SAW NO
PARTICULAR ADVANTAGE TO GETTING THE PARTIES TOGETHER
FOR DIRECT TALKS WHICH MIGHT FORM THE BASIS FOR

A LATER CONFERENCE. WE WILL SEE VIEIRA AGAIN AT
DINNER AND PRESS OUR POSITION ON HIM IN A SOME
WHAT MORE INFORMAL SETTING.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MAPUTO00748
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780250-1140
Format: TEL
From: MAPUTO
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780656/aaaabwhf.tel
Line Count: 120
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 96966088-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2340651
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: GRAHAM/ LOW MEETING WITH MUGABE AND GPRM
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US, (GRAHAM, JOHN), (LOW, STEPHEN)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/96966088-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014